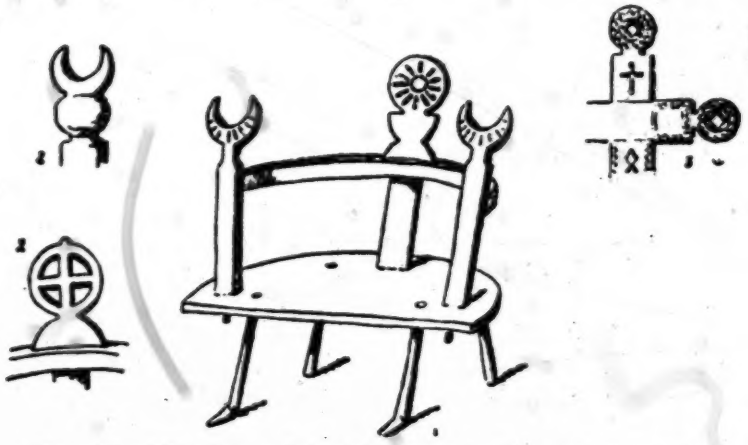
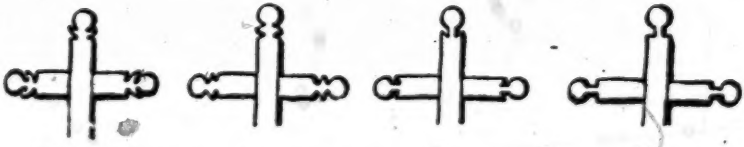
Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The finest carved rayed suns are those on the arms of the big wooden crosses in the Theti graveyard, which are beautifully chip-carved (Fig. 9, No. 3). Upon one of them a carved watch and chain marks the grave of the first tribesman of Thethi who possessed one.

Most interesting are some quite recent gravestones at Dushmani



4. "Sun and Moon" Chair, Shala. 2. Variant design of arm, end, and back. 3 Cross terminating in "suns," Thethi.



1. Series of common wooden crosses, showing all stages of patterns (Catholic cemeteries).

5. Wooden headpost and head and foot posts of Moslem graves (Hashi and Puka).

FIG. 9.—SUN AND MOON PATTERNS IN NORTH ALBANIA

(Fig. 8), whereon strange devices are carved, in some of which the cross and sun are turned into the figure of a man. A woman who came up told me I was drawing the grave of her mother (Fig. 8, No. 6). Asked what was the meaning of the things upon it, she said: "We poor people of the mountains cannot write. I put this to remember my mother. The sun and moon are 'per bukur' (to look pretty)."

[Text continues on p. 127]

PEAKS OF SHALA

embroidery. These were really separate linings 291
to the stiff and hard opangi, which had to be soaked a long time in water and put on wet, in order to get them on at all.

Very conscious of my feet, which seemed large 342
and unwieldy flopping objects at the ends of my legs, I went across the flat, wet fields with Perolli to drink coffee in the house of Lulash.†

The house of Lulash was different from any of the others we had seen. It stood on a castlelike rock; we went up to it by a stairway cut in the side of a cliff that rose almost sheer for so far that the waterfall pouring down it looked like a motionless streak of snow near the top. A natural bridge of rock crossed the little space between the cliff and the rock on which the house of Lulash was built; a furious little stream roared beneath us as we crossed the bridge, and then there was another stairway leading up to the house.

Lulash and a dozen men and women of his [574]
household stood outside his door to receive us. No rifles were fired. We passed through a double line of salutes and greetings and into a high-arched stone doorway. There was a little hall, floored and walled with stone, and a massive stone stair leading upward. This we climbed, [352]
and were in a large whitewashed room, lighted by a window and furnished with beautifully painted chests and a few hand-woven rugs. But this was not the only room; there were others, 000
and, leading us through several arched stone

† [tribal chief in Thethis -- Analys F]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

[727] XXII Mountain Corps, whose Headquarters were at Yannina. The Kossovo was independently garrisoned, mainly by the German-officered Albanian division, S.S. Skanderbeg. The *669 Partisans, who now formed the chief Albanian resistance movement, were reported to have nearly fifteen thousand men under arms. Except, however, for insignificant groups these were all among the Tosks, south of the river Shkumbi. The Ballist forces were also concentrated in the South and about Tirana, but were now reduced to little more than five thousand men. We were thus tolerably informed of the numbers and circumstances of our German enemies and Partisan allies, but knew almost nothing of the military potentialities of the Zogist movement in particular, or of the Ghegs in general. Maclean and I therefore set out on 3rd May to join Abas Kupi and study conditions in Mati and Kruya for ourselves. Meanwhile Smiley and Hare remained at base to reconnoitre the precise dispositions of the Germans and to take soundings of opinion in Tirana.

[342] Abas Kupi and his staff had assembled in the fortress home of Tsen Lezi,[1] set in a cleft in the mountains high above the Mati valley. We joined him there about nightfall and found [352] the Zogist leaders seated round the hearth at the end of a long and narrow hall, lit only by the flames of the fire. The skins of sheep and goats were spread out on the floor as carpets, and the walls and rude crossbeams which supported the roof were black and shiny with soot. So must have been the keep of Dunsinane. Tsen Lezi, the master of the house, was wild and woolly like an aged bear, and grunted as he ambled out to greet us. His eyes were small and bright; his bushy moustache sprouted in all directions; and his clothes were brown and furry, homespun from the shearings of his sheep. 596 He ruled sternly over his family, or clan, for there were more than sixty of them living in the house, and directed every detail of dynastic policy: what land or livestock should be bought or sold, which of the children should be sent to school, what marriages should be made, what blood feuds prosecuted

[1] A Mati chieftain, not to be confused with the Dibran leader, Tsen Elezi.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

000 the incident and adds: "Did not murder him as this is a recce. of coast and I do not want to attract attention".

The village of Priske Vogel was attractively situated among vineyards on the mountainside above Tirana; but the room in which we were lodged was small and indescribably filthy. It had served for some months as the working and sleeping quarters of Captain "Corsair", a secret Intelligence officer who had lived there alone with his Italian cook, observing enemy troop movements and the traffic on Tirana airfield. "Corsair" had been taken under Partisan "protection" after an ill-fated attempt to stop the civil war; and since his departure no attempt had been made to keep the room swept or clean. The floor was littered with empty bottles and tins; and clouds of fat, sticky flies fastened on every smear of sweat or grease. From dawn till dusk they were a ceaseless torment, drowning in our drinks, swarming over our plates, and making it impossible to sleep or even sit indoors. Most houses in Albania [352] offer sufficient, if primitive, comfort, with their carpets, mattresses, and cushions; but at Priske these had been replaced by two iron bedsteads and a few wooden chairs and benches, hard to the body and sordid to the eye. To these shortcomings was added lack of food; for the surrounding district was poor and offered neither meat, nor eggs, nor milk. Moreover, our courier service to Tirana had temporarily broken down; and we were reduced for several days to subsisting solely on maize bread and stale cheese.

In these disgustful circumstances I was presently stricken by a colic, which was soon contracted by my companions. An unequal diet aggravated our condition, but we dared not leave Priske until the new charging engine had been dropped to us. Bad weather delayed the aeroplane two days, but on the night of 29th July the sortie was carried out according to plan. The natural rapacity of the villagers was perhaps stimulated by the greed of their chieftain, Jemal Herri; thirteen packages and two hundred gold sovereigns were diverted to his use or their own; but the indispensable charging engine was safely recovered.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER III

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

342 At its simplest an Albanian peasant's house was very simple indeed—no more than a small, square room with walls of undressed stones from the nearest stream; a man so poor had no money or time to spend on transporting better materials from a distance. The stones were bedded in mud and bound together every three feet or so by horizontal beams; in their turn the 'belts' were strengthened, particularly at the corners, by cross-timbers. The roof was a steep framework of timber covered with stone slabs but never with thatch or boards, for the house would stand no chance if an enemy flung a blazing firebrand on these. The doorway was low, but the wooden door, emblematic of the insecurity that lasted until Turkish rule ended, was strong enough not to be easily [354] broken down from outside. In most cases there was not even a hole in the wall for window, and there was never a chimney—a ring of stones in the middle kept the log-fire in its place, and the smoke found its own way out between the rafters unhampered by a ceiling. A kitchen-crook, a most important article, was suspended over the fire from a tie-beam. The floor was of beaten earth. In sum, the house was the most rudimentary type of stone and timber architecture.

352 The furnishings were in keeping. They consisted of a three-
445 legged stool or two, a box or pile of bedding but no bedsteads, a rough shelf with a frying-pan and a few platters and pots, a big metal jug for boiling water, an earthenware pot for holding drinking water, a round dining-table on stumpy supports about ten inches high, a flour-bin, a pan for mixing bread, perhaps a pan for baking it, and nothing for washing—the nearest stream served for that. A metal tray with coffee cups inverted to keep them clean and a tiny pot with a long handle for making Turkish coffee rested by the hearth, a few satchels of home-dressed wool and a distaff hung on the wall, and a hen stared at the company from her nest under [353] the eaves. The only ornaments were yellow maize-cobs, rosy pomegranates, and strings of onions or garlic, all hanging from the 000 tie-beams. At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

reasons, be no openings in the ground-floor walls except the doorway, but square holes were left in those of the upper floor for windows. Except in rich houses these 'windows' were not glazed. At night they were closed in rich as in poor houses by propping stone slabs against them or sliding wooden panels across them. Those in a one-storeyed cluster were usually too high for the curious outside to peep through or the hostile to shoot through. Nikollë Gjetë Coka of Breg i Matit, putting his trust in the exemplary peace which King Zog's government had established throughout Albania, neglected this ancient precaution and was shot in 1938 by some Mirdites who thrust their rifles through the window of the room in which he sat at supper. At the top of a tower there were usually loop-holes, splayed to give a wider field of fire and low enough to let a man kneel as he shot. When these were found in a clustered house, as they often were, it was naturally on a vulnerable side, where they might also be reinforced by turrets in the wall of the farmyard. In the kitchen, where the women and children must spend the day and evening, the hearth continued in the middle because more people could sit round it in that position.

In planning his house the Albanian householder sought chiefly shelter from the elements and his enemies, and took no thought for beauty. When villages are picturesque, as many are, it is always for such extraneous reasons as their site, the line of their roofs against a lightly clouded sky, and the greenery surrounding them, rather than for the architecture of their individual houses. A tower, it is true, may have machicoulis over its door or under an upper window, and these give it distinction; its elevation and its usual situation on a knoll may also be attractive. The best examples, some of them over two hundred years old, may be seen in Lurë. But few clustered houses are more than an assemblage of featureless boxes.

In the bigger houses the furnishings altered little from those of the simplest type already described. Mattresses and pillows were probably added to the bedding, and the floor of the sitting-room, instead of being left bare, was covered with mats made from reeds grown in the swamps near the coast. In the cold north and north-east there was usually a layer of earth under the mats; it made an admirable shield against winter blasts. Chairs remained rarities and stools were still confined to the kitchen with its chilly earthen floor. Workers being more plentiful, enough animals to make butter could be kept; the churn was made by hollowing out a section of tree-trunk.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

value or money compensation to the other. In the cases, frequent enough, where each had had his own implements before the separation, he took these with him to his new home.

Beehives too were divided on the offset or compensation system; they were seldom enough to go round the brothers. Honey was divided on a food basis, equally among old and young.

Household utensils such as spoons, milk cogs, churns, wash-tubs, pots, saucepans and all wooden and earthenware vessels were also divided equally among the brothers. After being taken out of the house they were stacked in piles, one for each brother under the direction of whoever divided the property. It was almost never possible to find an article of the same type for each brother. So an article was laid on one pile and the offset on the others. Less often, an article of which there was only one was valued and a proportionate share of its value paid by its new owner to his brothers. There was never any furniture in the sense of tables, chairs and bedsteads to divide. At most, there were reed mats and straw-stuffed cushions in the sitting-room and some wooden stools in the kitchen. The stools might be divided equally among the brothers; the other things were generally treated as part of the house and left where they were.

Certain articles in the house were not subject to division. These included the portable oven, flour-bin, tongs, shovel and kitchen-crook, which were the symbols of family life; and the mill, caddy, pot and cups forming the coffee outfit, which was the symbol of guest-friendship. The former remained in the kitchen and the latter in the sitting-room, irrespective of whether these rooms had been separated or left to one brother. Above all, it was unlucky to move the kitchen-crook; it was almost as sacred as the fire on the hearth on whose continuance depended the continuance of the family. Very occasionally, however, it was allotted like the rest of the property. Other articles were considered individual property and excluded from division on that account. These included the jack-knife, gun and revolver carried by each man (at least in the not-so-distant past), the trousseaux brought by the married women or being made by the girls, and the married women's pocket-money, wedding presents, possessions and livestock, or money lent at interest. All these continued to be the sole property of their owners. Bedding too was individual property, each brother's having been brought by his wife as part of her trousseau. If the

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
144 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations. The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches. Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half underground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things). The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles. Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings (kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1), out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
[535] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8); wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

[see: Karutz, El Europe, Catillo, p. 67a --- Analyst]

352 two transverse ledges nailed to them and serving as feet (Figure 11);[2] low, three-legged stools and semicircular arm chairs; bedsteads of posts rammed into the ground, floors made of boards or intertwined switches, and heaped up hay or ferns (Figure 11).[1] Cradles which are
415 carried like a rucksack on the back. Among the kitchen utensil the baking bowl is important; it is made red hot and then the dough is placed in it and the baking bell is placed over it, on top of which embers are again heaped. Large wooden tubs with hoops of hazelnut are used to keep the wine, and smaller ones for water, butter, and brine for the cheese; sacks of sheep's or goat's hide are used to keep
354 milk. The open hearth fire, at the same time heating and cooking place, is situated in the center of the living room in a depression filled with loam; above it is suspended the kettle by a bent branch in its natural state, or by an iron chain; to the side of the fireplace a recess has been made into the wall to form a niche for the stove bench. Originally any kind of outlet for the smoke was lacking, then a hole for the smoke was left open, a flue was added; but it was not till later that proper fireplaces with a chimney were constructed.

/99: Illustrations./

/100/ The Albanians

II.

000 1. Woman from the Arbrie on the highland pastures of Kalmak. 2. Mohammedan Albanian. 3. Women from Scutari with wide breeches. 4. North Albanian shepherdess. 5. North Albanian woman with a wide apron. 6. Swimming bag and a raft of intertwined willow twigs floating on swimming bags; on the raft the swimmer's bundle of clothing. 7. Ferry made of a double canoe with planks raising the edge. 8. Canoe with booms on both sides. 9. Wooden plow. 10. Cross-section of a turbine mill. 11. Husking of corn by means of threshing flails. 12. Two-wheeled ox-cart. 13. Albanian from the region near Dibro. 14. Hand mill. 15. A pouch made of beech tree bark used for picking berries. 16. Peg with markings for water line use.[1]

142 The Albanians are amply medium-sized, powerfully built,
000 mostly with short heads, with a narrow, long face. Blue eyes and light hair occur not infrequently. In many cases the men shave their

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe cat. 1116, p. 69a--Analyst]
[2] [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 1116, p. 69a--Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his feud with him. The villages of these districts are generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in, a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes, which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to preserve them. The other serves as general living and sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green, in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor, where the grain is trodden out by horses.

The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

become a mother is announced to her husband's family, she becomes thenceforward the object of the most devoted attention on their part, the slightest wish or preference she may express being immediately gratified. Custom, however, forbids her eating certain things, such as pomegranates and snails, and she must not dye her hair more than three times before her baby is born, or some unlucky accident would be sure to happen to her or to the infant.

As soon as the baby is born it is washed, and a sickle, with which straw has just been cut, is laid for a few seconds on its stomach to prevent colics. The maternal grandmother, whose privilege it is to perform this office for the baby, then proceeds to swathe its little body tightly in broad swaddling bands of white woollen stuff, and finally deposits it in a narrow wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

252 and raise the hammer. Then when the water
402 spilled out the hammer fell, and the cycle began again. These mills have been observed by other authors as well.

Although they utilize water power so cleverly and save so much effort, these 2 kinds of mills involve no specific division of labor. Some men may be more skillful at setting them than others, but there are no professional mill-builders, and no millers. Like the fulling mills they belong to the families that use them, and
256 when not in use are unattended. In the cities, however, professional millers are to be found. Prizren, which has an ample supply of swift water running under the streets, is a milling town, and the traveler walking down the millers' street can hear the sharp ring of stone on stone for several hundred feet. These mills supply the needs of the bakers of Gonaj and Zum, and feed the citizens of Prizren. Bread from this region is of excellent quality and mountaineers coming to market often take a few loaves home.

264 The Ghegs eat one principal meal a day, late in the afternoon. In the morning a Moslem may take a small glass of *raki* for an eye-opener, and eat some bread and cheese; a Catholic will also break his fast. Both will munch a cold snack on the road or in the field for luncheon. But the time when the whole family gets together, when honored guests are entertained, comes when the day's work is over. Then the women cook the food, and
[352] the men squat around the communal table. In Moslem households the table is the only piece of furniture in evidence, aside from the omnipresent chests. Among the Catholics, each house usually contains one massive beech-wood chair, made locally, which seats the head of the house or the guest of honor, and a number of low wooden stools.

Forks and other modern cutlery are usually absent. Mediaeval table manners are scrupulously observed, with all eating from the same dish, and with their fingers. Among the Moslems at least, the custom of passing a wash-bowl and jug of water with a towel before and after the meal is usual, as well as saying the Koranic grace, *bismillah*. At one meal which I attended at the house of Major Çen Eleze at Slatina, in Dibra, the table was at least 10 feet in diameter, the eaters numbered at

[See pp. 16a-16b-Analysis -18a-]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

as the most perfect type originating from a prostyle house. Even the difference in the size of the windows proves that the walls on the side of the veranda were built later than the rest of the building. 342

The description of another house of Bregumatja (p. 46, Fig. 33) illustrates the inner disposition of living space, and shows a similar evolution: the veranda has been closed by a wall on the frontside. Part of the inside, however, has remained as an entrance hall. A room with two windows «a la franca» was made on the right of the hall, and a cellar on its left. Yet these spaces were not separated by solid walls, but by thin mud-covered trellis. The room is characterised by

Fig. 72. View of a house in Kolaj
(Nopcsa, [illegible] 32)

its roof, its large and glass panelled windows and by its containing a high table with a few high chairs, just as «the good room», destined for distinguished guests. This form and furniture are typical for all these extra rooms. The two large rooms at the back of the house are communicating by a door, but they do not have any ceiling. One of these rooms serves as men's room, and the other as women's room, but at the same time as a kitchen and cellar for everyday life articles. [352]

This multiple formation, as shown in this advanced type of Albanian house, evidently corresponds to the needs of the Albanian family, which is based on patriarchal customs. Moreover, if we take into consideration the life conditions of Albanias, the house pictured on Fig. 72 could include, according to Nopcsa, 20-30 inhabitants, as the only 342 592

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top ; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare : the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

342 The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
712 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in
627 dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly : "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers ; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

●352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges : the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms.

343 An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [447]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [531] [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kukor is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]